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THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF FLORENCE MAC CARTHY,

BY DANIEL MAC CARTHY (GLAS), ESQ.

(Continued from p. 169.)

THAT the Queen had a right to control the marriage of the heiress of Mac Carthy More, seems to have been a fixed conviction in the minds of all men who had no concern in the matter; that she had at any time singled out any individual by name to whom she would *not* consent to see her united, is scarcely probable; it is, however, certain that no Englishman would have dared to seek her hand without previously securing the consent of her Majesty. The rumour of the Earl's intention to seek a fitting match for his daughter, naturally attracted the notice of the authorities in Munster; and Sir Warham St. Leger suggested to Sir Thomas Norreys, then Vice-President, to make offer for the hand of the young lady, promising all his influence to obtain for him, not only the Queen's consent, but a grant of succession to the Earl's country. Sir Thomas "entertained the idea with some favour, but, after some little trouble taken, he in the end disliked of it." Browne was at this time seated at Molahuff, in the centre of the Earl's country: the capabilities of the desolate wilderness around him were known better to him than to any man; and that dreams of corn-fields and orchards spreading over that improvable waste—of peaceful, well-clad, hard-working English yeomen enlivening his landscape—should present themselves to the mind of the surveyor, is not surprising. He had a son, also, for whose "preferment in marriage" he was solicitous; and the settlement of this son connected itself in his imagination with those other pleasing dreams of civilizing the land in which he had cast his lot.

He stood well with the authorities of his own province, though not so well as he fancied; he had some credit at court, though that also he overrated; and he had influence in one quarter concerning which he could make no mistake. With serene assurance, he resolved to secure for his son Nicholas the prize which Sir Thomas Norreys had timorously relinquished. Browne knew the Earl thoroughly, and his dealing with him was direct and practical. It was presently rumoured abroad "that the Earl had agreed, for money, to give his daughter in marriage to Mr. Nicholas Browne;" it was also asserted that her Majesty's consent had been obtained; and, what was of more importance, the consent, also for money, of the great officers of the Earl. Bitter was the humiliation, fierce the wrath, united and resolute the protest, of the chieftains of the entire sept, when the tale of this unworthy traffic reached them! The indignation even of the poor oppressed Countess of Clancar was raised.

“As there is nothing,” wrote Sir Warham St. Leger, “that the Irishe more esteeme then the nobilitie of bloud, preferringe it farre before eyther vertue or wealth, so abhorre they nothinge more then disparagem^t, more odious unto them then death.”

The pedigree of Browne is preserved at Lambeth, in the collections of Carew; and Burghley, if he ever saw the document, must have felt some sympathy with this cry of shame and abhorrence from a royal sept. All this emotion was, however, unnecessary: the dignity of the united blood of the Geraldines and Mac Carthy More was in no danger of attain. Whatever had been the early nature of this transaction, the issue was a masterpiece of levity on the part of the Earl, and of address in another individual whose name had not hitherto been connected with it. The Countess, perhaps even her daughter, the Vice-President of Munster, the shrewd St. Leger, Browne and his son, Burghley, and the Queen, were alike the sport of a mind, the fertility of whose invention was at that time little suspected. Florence Mac Carthy was then “at the court;” removed from all suspicion of complicity either in the bargain of the Earl, or the opposition of the sept. Thither, too, the Earl repaired, possibly to avoid the storm which he had raised. It would almost pass credibility that he should so far compromise himself with Browne, as to permit him to make application for the Queen’s consent, and yet never seriously have intended to allow this marriage at all. It is difficult, however, to believe but that such was the case: for when all the details of this curious transaction came to light, it was found that a regular marriage contract, legally drawn up, sealed and witnessed, had been signed by the Earl, by which nearly the whole of his country, including—with a malicious speciality—the lands mortgaged to Browne, were settled on his daughter on her marriage with—it was not the name of Nicholas Browne that filled the space following those interesting words.

Shortly after the Earl’s arrival in London, Florence quitted the Court and returned to Ireland. He presented himself to the Vice-President, Sir Thomas Norreys, and, with the aspect of an injured man, bitterly complained of the conduct of the Earl towards him. He exhibited documents relative to various loans made by him on security of the Earl’s lands, and declared that he had broken faith with him and forfeited those securities. The benefit of these forfeitures he offered to make over to Sir Thomas; but finding that he was not willing to take advantage of the offer, he requested from him letters of authority into Desmond to enable him to take possession of the lands legally his security. The letters were given, and he took his departure. A few days later, Munster was startled by the intelligence that the great heiress of Mac Carthy More was married to her kinsman Florence! The rest of this romantic story will be best told in the words of Sir Warham St. Leger, to whose lot it fell, in the

temporary absence of the Vice-President, to send the unwelcome tale to England. There now burst suddenly upon the mind of this far-sighted statesman the full magnitude of the ambition of Florence; and in order that the Queen might see it as clearly as he saw it, he did not content himself with the recital of "the contemptuous action," but laid a detailed statement before her of all the consequences to be dreaded from this alliance. Even this he thought insufficient, and penned an elaborate treatise on the state of the province, which, in the form of three Tracts, were sent for the grave consideration of the Lords of the Privy Council. These documents were forwarded, the letter on the 14th of May, the first moment that the news reached him, and the Tracts followed it with all speed.

Sir Warham St. Leger has, in the following documents, furnished us incidentally with a considerable portion of the history of the families of the South of Ireland, which Mr. O'Connor so much desired. Two or three facts concerning Florence are well worthy of note. "He was much embrased in his countrie, and in the whole province; he was fervent in the old religion; and he was during seven or eight years much addicted to the company of Spaniards." It is very curious that there should have been company of Spaniards for him to frequent. We are left to conjecture whether these Spaniards were merchants, or ecclesiastics, or gentlemen who had accompanied Philip into England in the last reign. Of whatever denomination they might be, the circumstance of their existence in Cork is unexpected, and difficult to account for. Respecting Florence's designs on the succession to Carbury after Sir Owen's death, St. Leger needlessly alarmed himself. Donel-na-bippy stood before him by usage of tanistry, and, as we shall see, it was Donel, not Florence, who contemplated turning the succession from its lawful course.

"1588. May 14. *From SIR WARHAM ST. LEGER to the LORDS OF HER MAT^{ty}. PRIVY COUNCIL.*

"Certaine perticuler matters to be imparted to the Queene's Moste Excellent Ma'tie.

"Florence, alis Fynan Mackkertie, hath latelie espoused the onlie daughter and child legittimate of the Earle of Clankertie, by a cunning practise contrived betweene y^e Countesse, mother to the said childe, and the said Fynan, without her husband's consent, as yt is here given out by those that be favouers of that action (howe likelie the same ys to be treue, that a woman durste adventure to make such a match withoute her husbandes knowledge, I reffer to her Ma'tie's deepe conceipte); for my owne parte, I do thinke in my consyence yt is a secrete practyse betweene the Earle and his wyfe; and the matter concluded in Englande before Phineas cominge thence, entendinge thereby to prevente the bestowinge of her by Her Highnes dyrections, and soe ys the generall oppynion of sundrie of her good and sounde subiects here, that are jelyous of the match as far forthe as myselfe.

"The Perills that may accrue by the match are these, viz^t.:—1st. The saied Florence, alias Fynian, is dyscended of the Doughter of Morrys of Desmonde, uncle of the late wicked Earle of Desmonde, cousyn germain to James Fytz Morrys sonne nowe in Spayne, and likewise to Morrys of Desmonde, Traytor, also in Spaine.

"2d. He is alsoe cosyn germain to him that is nowe Lo: of Muskerye, whoe is sonne to the saied Fynian's mother's syster.

"3d. He is also cousyn germain to the L. Rotche that now is, whoe haith marryed the syster of the saied Fynian's mother; by which kyndred he is stronglie allyed.

"4th. He is alsoe lyke, after the decease of Sir Owen Makertie, whoe is a man in yeares, and growne latelie sicklie, and thereby not likelie to lyve manye yeares, to have by Tanyshipp the goverment of the countrie of Carburye; unlesse he be prevented thereof by Her Ma'tie's assystinge Donell Mack Kertie, whoe in right ought by Tanyshipp to have the goverment of Carburie before him, in as much as he cometh of the elder brother of the Macke Kerties of Carburye, and besides that his tytle of Tanyshipp, he ought to have the countrie before Finian, in so much as he sheweth a Pattente from Her Ma^t predecessors, whoe graunted the saied countrie to the heirs males of the Mack Kertie of Carburye, to hould the same by English Tenure; the which Pattente the saied Donell now maketh chalendge unto, beinge descended of the elder brother, and is in question with Sir Owen Macke Kertie for the enioying the benefytt of the saied Patente (much to the dyslike of the saied Sir Owen and Finian, whoe join together againste the saied Donell). Notwthstanding the saied Sir Owen ys uncle to the saied Donell as well as to Finian, by the which yt is here generally thought that the marke Sir Owen Mack Kertie and Fynian shooteth at ys to dysappoynte Donell, and Finian to take the place of the goverment of Carburye after Sir Owen's deathe, by Tanyshipp, and then atcheavinge to that, together withe the marriage of the Earle of Clancarties daughter, yf he maye by his frinds in Englande wyne by his match to succede the Earle of Clankertie as heire unto his countrie, howe perillous that maye be to make him soe greate, together wth the allyaunces before recyted, and the allyaunce he is like to have by this marryage, by the which all the Clan Kerties and there followers are to be at his devotion, I referr to Her Ma'ties deepe consideraçon what maye growe thereof, if he should become undutyfull; of which althoughe there be good hope to the contrarie, yet what yll counsell maye doe, he beinge greatly addicted to the brute sorte of those remote pties, and his mother in lawe, whoe is the chiefe contryver of this marriage, and whoe haith ben but a badd subiecte unto Her Highnes, may worke on him I lykewise referr to Her Ma'tie.

"5th. The yonge man is greatlie embrased in his countie, as also in this provynce; he haith ben anye tyme this seven or eight yeares greatlie addicted to learne the Spanysh tonge, and haith ben verely desierous, synce I have known him, to have the companie of Spanyerdes; the which tonge he haith obteyned. He is fervente in the olde Relygion, without which his mother in lawe woulde never have condyscended to have matcht her daughter with him, and I verelye thinke (yf it were duly examyned) he was marryed with a masse, and not by suche iniunctions as be sett downe by Her Highnes, nor yet had the lysence of the Bysshopp of this Dyocesse

to marrie without lawfull Banes asked, for there were verey fewe either of Carburye or Desmonde that were at the marryage. Either Sir Owen O'Syllyvan, or O'Sullivan Moore, I cannot tell whether one of them, was the onlye Gentlemen that were at the solempnizinge thereof. It was verey secretlie done, and after the solempnizinge thereof (they thinckinge that it shoulde not be knowne), they sent l^{res} to overtake a messinger latelie sente from hence to the Earle of Clankertie, whoe shoulde have ben stayed yf he had not ben gone to the sea, before their messinger came to staye the former messinger.

"6th. The waye to prevente this, their cunyinge practyse, is for Her Ma'tie to staye grauntynge the Earle of Clankerties enioyeing of his countrye to him, and to his heirs geñall, and let him remayne as he doeth, whereby the countrie maye returne unto Her Highnes disposiçon whensoever yt shall please God to call him out of this lyfe (not leavinge yssue male behinde him).

"7th. Another meane to cutt this youth from growinge to greate is for Her Ma'tie to allowe of Donell Mac Kerthies Pattente graunted by her predecessors, yf the Pattente be good, wherein Her Highnes shall not onlye doe Justyce, but withall cutt of Fynyan's growinge to be to greate (the which is one of the greateste myscheives that doeth hurte in this her realme), for they have alreadye enough, and a greate deal more then they can well govern. In this my plaine wrytinge, I humblie beseech Her Ma'tie to graunte me pardon, protestinge to God, I do not wryte thus muche for mallice to anye person, but onlye of mere zeall I professe to the safe Government of this Her Realme, for were yt not therefore, I coulde wyshe the Gentleman as much good as anie he that loves him beste. And so wysHINGE all to fall out for the beste I leave; with my prayer to God to sende Her Ma'tie longe lyfe, with prosperous successe in all her doings.

"From Corke, this 14th May, 1588.

"WARHAM SENT LEGER."

Endorsed—"Sir Warham St. Leger's declaration to Her Majesty of the many inconveniences that may arise to the state of Ireland by the late marriage of Florence Mac Carthy with the daughter and heir of the Earl of Clancar."

Extracted from the first of three Tracts sent to Burleigh.

"The Earle of Glyncarr, before Her Ma'tie created him Earle, was by Inheritance Mc Cartie Moore; by the w^h amonge the Irishe he was accounted the cheefest in this Province, as descended from them that before they weare subdued to the Crowne of England, weare the Kings of the greater parte therof; and at the tyme of his creaçon and surrender of his form^r titles, he had, and ever synce claymeth under his jurisdicçon and dominion *fourteene severall countries*, beside som of lesse quantitie; most of them possessed by such as have descended out of his house, from every of w^h he demandeth sondrie duties and services, wherof many are abolyshed by statute.

"The First is the countrey of Mc Donochoe (called Duallo), w^h hath w^hin it thre other countreis. O'Chalachan's countrey, M^cAunliel's

countrey, and O'Keif's countrey. He claymeth in these countreis the gevinge of the Rodd to the chieffe Lords at their first entrie, who by receivinge a whit wande at his handes, for w^h they are to paie him a certen dutie, are therby declared from thenceforthe to be Lords of those countreis. He claymeth also that they are to *rise out* wth him when he makes warre; to maintaine for him seaven and twentie Galleglasses, besides to finde him for a certen tyme, when he cometh to their countreis.

"The Second—the countrey of Muskerie, a very large countrey, wherin *five other* countreis are conteyned; he claymeth of them risinge out, the keapinge of *thirtie galleglass*, and findinge of him for a certen tyme. The Lordes of this countrey, by takinge L^{tes} Patents of the Kings of England, have exempted themselves from him, as they affyrme.

"The Third countrey is O'Sullivan Moore's. It conteyneth two hundred ploughlandes. He claymeth there the geavinge of the Rodd, the findinge of Fiftie Gallyglasses, Risinge out, and in yearely spendinge the value of £20.

"The Fourth is O'Sullivan Beare's countrey, which conteyneth also 160 ploughlands; he claymeth there Risinge out, the findinge of 50 Galleyglas, the geavinge of the Rodd, and to the value of £40 a yeare in spendings and refecons.

"The Fyft is O'Donochoe Moore's countrey. It conteyneth 45 ploughlands, and it is nowe all in the Earle's handes, by Her Ma^{ty} gyft.

"The Sixt is the Lord of Cosmaignes countrey. It conteyneth 84 ploughlands. It is now all in the Earle's hands by Her Ma^{ty} gift, or y^e most part thereof.

"The Seaventh is the Lord of Kerslawny's (coip leamna ?) countrey, otherwise called Slight Cormak. It conteyneth 35 ploughlands, wherof some are in the Ile of Valentia. He claymeth there the geavinge of the Rodd, Risinge out, the findinge of 40 Galleyglas, and to the value of £40 a yeare in spendinge.

"The Eight is the Countrey of [Mac] Gelecuddè. It contayneth 46 ploughlands. He claymeth there Risinge out, the gevinge of the Rodde, the findinge of 30 Galleglas, and to the value of £20 a yeare in spendinge.

"The Ninethe is Mac Fynin's Countrey [in Glenaraught, Co. Kerry]. It conteyneth 28 ploughlands. He claymeth the givinge of the Rodd, the findinge of 15 Galleyglas, Risinge out, and to the value of £24 yearely in spendinge.

"The Tenthe is the Countrey of Clandonoroe. It contayneth 24 Ploughlands. He claymeth theare Risinge out, and it is in the Erle's hands by Her M^{ty} Gyfte.

"The Eleaventh is the Countrey of O'Donochoglañ.¹ He hath there no other dutie but only six and fortie shillings fourpence of yearelie Rent. The countrey conteyneth 20 ploughlands.

"The Tweluth is the Countrey of Clan Dermonde. It conteyneth 28 ploughlands. He claymeth Risinge out, the keepinge of 16 Galleyglas, and in yearlie spendinge to the value of £40.

"The Thirteenth is Clanlawra's [in O'Sullivan Beare's country]. This countrie conteyneth 32 ploughlands. It is all in the Earle's hands by Her Ma^{ty} gift.

¹ O'Donoghue of Glenflesk, in Kerry.

"The Fourteenth is the Countrey of Loughlegh [loé laoiḡóech, in Kerry] or of Teignitowin. It conteyneth 32 Ploughlands. The Earle claymeth it to be excheated unto him for want of Heires right and legitimate.

"Moreover, the Earle hath in Chiefe Rents yssuinge out of Barrett's Countrey, by the cyttie of Corke, £11 a yeaere; out of the Abbey of Killaha, £4 a yeaere or thereabouts; out of Ballenskellig yearly as much. Out of certen churchland in Beare the like some; besides he hath in Demayne land in the hundreds of Maygonie and Euraught about his Castle of the Pallace [in Kerry], his Castle of Ballicarbery, Castle Lough, and the Abbey of Vriett [Muckrus], three score ploughlands or thereabouts. In O'Suliuan Beares Countrey, Muskery, and Duallo, or in Donochoe's Countrey, certen ploughlands; also in eache of them Demayne lands.

"All his Lands and Territories lieth in the Counties of Desmond and Cork, and some parte in the county of Kerrie. The most parte of his land is waste and uninhabited, w^h hath growne partly by the calamities of the last warres, partly by the exacōns that he hath used upon his teñants.

"It is of great consequence and importance unto our inhabitacon there, that the Earle's Estate be not enlarged, to the ende that after his decease, Englishe Gentlemen may be there planted, and all his dependences brought to hould onely of Her Ma'tie; unlesse it so weare that by Her Highnes fav^r and good likinge, his daughter weare married to som worthy English Gentleman, and his lands assured after his deceasse to the heires males of their two bodies. In w^h case allso I wishe the keepinge of Galleyglas, Risinge out, and ceassinge of souldiors, to be wholly extinguished, the spendings and Refecons to be reduced to som money rent; the gevinge of the *Rodd to be abolished*, and all those meane Lords to hould their lands of Her Highnes."

"As there is nothinge that the Irishe more esteme then the nobilitie of bloud, pferringe it farre before eyther *vertue* or *wealth*, so abhorre they nothinge more then disparagem^t, more odious unto them then Death; w^h well appeared in that late communicacon of mariadage betwene the Earle of Glyncarr's daughter, and supposed heire, and Sir Valentine Browne's yonger sonne, w^h both by the Earle assented unto *for money*, and for reward by certen of his men negotiated in the countrey very earnestlie, as well for the matter as for the maner of atchyvinge, wrought generally in those parts a bitter discontentment, so much the deepelier printed in their myndes, by how much the earnestlier it was borne them in hande (by those that undertooke to effect it), that it must needes take place, for that it was intended by the state; soe well liked of by Her Majestie, and so resolved upon by the Earle. The Countesse and yonge Lady came unto me, and di^vs of the Gentlemen of the countrey to acquaint me w^h their discontentment; and some others of the best of those partes discovered their grieffes by their l^{res}. Their mynde all then seemed to tende to the dislike of that place, and to desire that she mought be matched to some one of a noble howse; wherein they made great p^{re}stacōns they would be much p^{er}sua^ded by me. I w^hall understood by some that weare privye to their myndes that (fearinge that matche should be forced upon them) they had an intencon to convey the yonge Lady into O'Ruirk's countrey (in the *north* part of Conaght), who

not longe synce is married to the Countesse of Glyncarrs sister. I held it best, in respect of the tyme, to lessen theyr discontentment what I mought, and to assure them that it stode not w^h the course of Her Mats most blessed Government, neyther would the lawes of England p^mitt that any should be forced to marie against their wills, and that they weare to feare no such matter. I did besides, both by letters and message, deale wth Sir Thomas Norrys, Vice President of Mounster, whom I then thought disposed to seate himselfe in these partes, that yf he could like of such a matche, and would to that ende become a petytioner unto Her Ma'tie for the re-nuinge of the Earle's letters Patents into a further estate, I would assist him to the uttermost of my small endeavour, and no whit doubted but the country should most readilie assent unto it. After some paines taken, he in the ende mysliked of it, beinge, as it seemed, otherwise disposed to bestowe himselfe. So the Countesse and the rest of those partes contynuinge in the feare of the former matche, and beinge in no hope of anie better, concluded soddenlie a mariage wth Florence Mc Cartie, who cam w^h the Vice President's warrants into the country to take possession of a Castle morgadged unto him by the Earle of Glyncarre, of w^h matche the efficient cause I take to have byn a fonde feare, and a fonde desire: the instrumentall cause to have byn fonde councell: the feare was, that she must needes ell have byn married to Mr. Browne: the desire was to contynue the Howse in the name, w^h by this matche they weare in a dooble hope to performe; fyrst, by Petiçon unto Her Ma'tie, hopinge that Florence Mc Cartye had those frends, and that favo^r w^h Her Highnes, that his suite for the landes should be easilie obtayned; secondly, yf their petiçons fayled, they hoped on their power, for that Florence Mc Cartie was like to be McCarthy Reoghe, and so by forces of both countreis might attayne his pretended Rights; especially upon such opportunities as trobles in England, or disturbances here might produce; a matter of some consequence, and verie piudiciall to the accōn we here undertake, and so much the more to be looked unto, by howe much the Mc Carties ptende to have Right to the most of Mounster, wherof sometimes they weare Lords, and phrps aspire to be Lords againe by meanes of this yonge Gentleman, beinge by the Father's side a Mc Cartye, and by the mother's side a Giraldyne, and therefore likelier to be favored in these partes. This newe matche, the new settlinge of the Englishe,¹ the discontentment of the Irishe, the present state of the Province, the expectaçon of some trouble in England, puttinge them in hope of due meanes and opportunities. The counsell herein, both evill given and followed, proceeded (yf not higher) from the Lords of Countries w^{thin} Desmond, and principall officers about the Earle of Glyncarre, who, heretofore accustomed to extorçons, oppressions, and spoiles, by the w^h they weare wont to be enriched, now bridled and restrayned, they longe for their former estate, and are ympatient of justice, and good Government. The chiefe of those in this accōn were *O'Sullivan Moore*, Lord of a great Country, the Earle's Seneschall and Marshall, married to Florens Mc Carthy's sister, able to make a hundred swords: *Mac Fynine*, Lord of a lesse Country, but more fruitfull, of lesse power then the other, married to the Earle of Glyncarrs base daughter; *Donell Mac Tybert*, the Earle's Consta-

¹ The English undertakers on the lands forfeited by the Earl of Desmond.

ble of his Castle of the Pallace, and chieffe officer of his lands, beinge principall of a populous Sept called the *Mergies* (?), and foster father to the yonge Lady; Hugh Mc Owen, Captaine of the Earle's Galleyglasse, and som others of their sorte. The remedies and pvençons of their hopes and intents, in my simple concept, will be to take order that Carberie shall descende accordinge to the 1st Patents of Her Highnes most renowned Father to Donell Mc Cartye, otherwise called Donell Pipi, and his heires lawfully begotten, and the agreement amonge themselves, made contrarie to the purport of the Letters pattents, to contynue no longer then duringe Sir Owen Mc Carties liefe. Secondly, Her Ma'tie to graunt no further estate of the Earle of Glyncarrs lands, but after his deceasse to plant therein English Gent and Inhabitants. Thirdly, in the meane tyme to cause good pledgs and assurans to be taken of Florence M^cCartye, and the rest of the contrivers of this mariadge, of their loyaltie and good demeanure, w^h is in part allready don. Fourthly, to contynue the Earle of Glyncarr w^hin the boundes of Lawe & justice, that he oppresse not his countrie, sellinge their landes and spoylinge their goodes, against all right, whereby the people, findinge their safetie in Her Ma'ties government, may the more affect it, and havinge amongst them fewe discontented, may the lesse be disposed to innovasions."

"The above document is apparently (says Mr. Hamilton, in his Calendar) by Sir Warham St. Leger, and addressed to Lord Burghley."

Extracted from the Second Tract. 1588. June 12.

"That, as the Mariadge of Florence Mc Cartie to the Earle of Glyncarr's daughter tendeth to the disturbance of these partes yf it be not prevented, so, as great and as dangerous troubles will growe otherwise if it be not looked unto in tyme!

"Synce the discoverie of Florence Mc Carte's dryft, to joyne in himsealfe Desmond and Carberie, and so to erect againe the greatnes and tyranny of the Mc Carties, a counterpractise to the sealffe same ende, but by other meanes, partely for the hatred borne to our newe Inhabitacon, partely for the malice and dislike borne to Florence M^cCartie, but chiefly for y^e desire to greaten their faction, and mayntayne the name and force of Mc Cartie Moore, hath byn entered into: the chieffe doer whereof was Sir Owen O'Sullivan of Beerhaven, he bearinge an impatient mynd of our neighbourhood, and thinkinge himsealfe wronged by Florence Mc Cartye, who promised to marry his daughter, and fearinge some diminution of his owne estate by the suite of his nephewe Donell O'Sullivan, and desirous to have a frend of a Mc Cartye, and so to make his partie good howsoever the world went; havinge one the one syde the Lorde Barrye, his brother-in-lawe and firme frend, who is but too great, contrived furthwyth first to enter into a league w^h Donell Mc Cartie, the Earle of Glyncarr's base sonne, whom that countrey doth much favo^r, and would fayne have to be Mc Cartie. Secondly, to allie himsealffe w^h the Knights of Kerrie's sonne and Heyre, the Chieffe of the Giraldines in these partes, likeliest to drawe evill humo^r unto him, and to growe to badd action, beinge not able to recover what his father hath sould but by force and stronge hande.

These purposes Sir Owen did so pertinently pursue, that w^hin few daies after that mariadge he sayled from his countrey to Desmonde, and there entringe into a league w^h his greatest enemye before, Donell Mc Carty, the Earle of Glyncarr's base sonne, thence came to Kerrie, and concluded a mariadge betwene his yonger daughter and the Knight of Kerrie's sonne & heire; hopinge, no doubt, that they two should drawe untoe them all the evill disposed of Kerrie and Desmonde; and he ioyninge wth them his forces out of Beare, Bantrie, and other partes of the countie of Corke, should be able, when they sawe their tyme, to do in those partes what they thought good, w^h their purpose I hold no less requisite to be prevented then the former drift of Florence Mc Cartie to the like ende.

"The remedies seeme unto me to be these:—Sir Owen O'Sullivan committed to Warde, tyll he put in good pledgs and assurances for his Loyaltie. The apprehension of the Earle of Glyncarr's base sonne, and the *execution of him* by Justice, or by martiall Lawe, for breakinge Her Mats prison, and livinge ever synce without pardon or protection, not submittinge himselfe to due Authoritie; or the employment of him in some service out of these partes; the geving of Justice to the Inhabitants of Desmonde, that neyther by the Earle of Glancarties unlawfull graunts they be deprived of their lands, nor by the payment of his debtes spoyled of their goods; so, finding the sweete of her Mats government they shall repose themselves theron most contentidly, and will not be drawne to any tumult, w^h the Earle doubtles in favour of his base sonne would gladly urge them unto when tyme favoured; and thereuntoe his dealings seeme untoe me to tende, directed by others that looke beyonde the present."

The effect produced by this daring contempt of the Queen's authority may be judged by the fact, that, as early as the 3rd of June, Elizabeth sent orders to Sir Thomas Norreys to apprehend Florence, and make earnest, instant inquiry into "the means and manner by which he had accomplished the said marriage;" and also, quickly following upon this imperious announcement of the royal will, went another letter from Walsyngham, commanding the arrest of the Countess of Glancartie, of the bride, and of as many as could be found to have had any share in the matter; and further, pressing a most searching investigation into every detail of the transaction. The result of these inquiries, with what passages Sir Thomas Norreys could himself relate of his own intercourse with Florence, is now laid before the reader; and, perhaps, in the entire mass of State Papers of the period, there is nothing more curious than the correspondence which arose out of this first development of Florence's plans for his future career. The equanimity with which he could encounter this sudden burst of royal indignation, the surprising adroitness with which he could turn aside its arrowy sleet from himself, and withdraw his young wife from its mischief, will appear in the sequel; but not until the requirements of his position had urged him to the committal of a second action, equally "contemptuous" and more defiant of the Queen, by which his purpose was fairly ac-

complished. From this moment come into operation the unrivalled tact and personal address which the reader may be prepared to trace through every phase of his future life.

“1588. *July 1. SIR THO^s NORREYS to WALSYNGHAM.*

“Rt: Hon: my most bounden dewty remembred. Whereas Her Ma'tie, by her l^{res} of 3d of June last past, gave me in comāndment to comitt the body of Florence Mac Carthy, and thereupon to certifye Her Highnes of my doings therein, as also of the meanes and man^r by which the sayd Florence compassed the mariage w^h the Earle of Clancarties daughter: for that the circumstances thereof doe inforce a tedious recitall, I presumed not to trouble Her Highnes w^h the particularities, but thought them rather meet to be advtized to yo^r H^c. (who had alsoe written to me touching y^e same) to thend that by yo^r meanes the knowledg thereof might be delivered to Her Ma'ty at her good pleasure.

“Upon the first arrivall of the sayd Florence here, coīng unto me he gave no signe of any such purpose, as sithens fell out, but to give color (as semes) to his intent, and to draw me y^e further from suspicōn thereof, through his seeming conceived unkyndnes against y^e Earle, he then discovered unto me some ill dealing of the sayd Earle towards him, namely how, that being bownd to him in great bands for assurance of certein lands, and for p^rformance of some other condicions, amongst w^h one was, that he should give him his daughter in mariage, he neverthesse had broken w^h him, and therefore offered me (Yf I should so lyke) the benefit of the forfeitures of the sayd lands: w^h speeches (as sithens as I have conceived) seeme to have proceded of some further matter in y^e secret of his harte, those his words being so contrary to that w^h he eftesoones did attempt. But the very grownd thereof (as I am informed, and as by many strong circumstances may be gathered) proceded from y^e Earle himselfe, however sithens he would fynd himselfe grieved therewith, and was compacted betwene them in England at the sayd Florence's there late being, and not w^hout the privitie and great furtheraunce of Sir Owen Mac Carthy, who by all meanes endevoureth to back, and iniuriouslie to raise up the sayd Florence against his kinsman, Donell Mac Carthy, as well in y^e succession of the Captency of his countrey, as also in all other causes, that may advauntage him thereunto; wherein yt is very certein that y^e Earle alsoe hath ever greatly favored him. Besydes yt is here by manie reported (the further proofes whereof I have not yett had tyme to syfte out) that the sayd Earle gave to Flor. at his coīng, his secrete l^{res} to his wife, to that effect w^h now hath happened; to whome pntly after his arrivall he repayred w^h the same, and soone after dispatched his hidden intent. And for more lykelyhode that yt was then wrought and concluded in England, I am certeinlie given to understand, that at y^e instant of his departure from thence, Capt. Jaques being then in company w^h him, counseled him very earnestly, whatsoever he did, to goe through w^h the mariage out of hand; assuring him that for obteyning Her Ma'ts consent thereunto, he would so work w^h some of his frends there, that yt should be brought to passe; and to the end to be more speedily advtized of his proceedings, he sent a servant of his owne ou^r hether in company w^h Flor., who upon conclusion

of the matter was presentlie dispatched hence back agayne. The further knowledg and intent whereof may there, I think, best be boulded out of the sayd Jaques, who thereby seemeth to have bene acquainted w^h the enterprize from y^e beginning, and to be privie to any other purpose that may depend thereupon; for sure yt carrieth great shewe of deepe consequence, considering how strongly y^e sayd Florence is allied to such as evill may be looked from. 1st. His mother was sister to James Fitz Morice, the Arch Traytour, whereby he is nephew to the L. Roche's wife, and to the Lo. of Muscrys mother; and coosen german to the Seneschall of Imokhillies wife; all w^h psons doe hang upon one weake thred, and have their eyes sett all upon hope of forreyne helpes: but namely, the sayd Lo. Roche, who sheweth himself in all his behav^or, and also in some open speeches to be discontented with this government, repyning obstinately against all directions of the State here, and supporting himself w^h the vayne conceipt of his secrete hope, whereof heretofore he hath, and yett dayly doth give apparant demonstrations: so that now the sayd Florence, by this his late knott hath given great strength to that syde, and hath combined all the releques of the House of James Fitz Morice to the kindred of the Clancarties, w^h being the greatest name and na^cōn now in Mounster (all Desmond, all Carbery, all Muscry, all Dowalla, being of that line), yt inferreth great importauce, and matter of neare respect to be prevented, or at the least well eyed; the rather for that the sayd Clancarties have heretofore, before the com^ging in of the Geraldines uppon them, had all this province in their subiec^cōn, the continuall memory whereof they yett use to nourish emongst them, and to deliver to their posterities by dew succession; and now this new occasion meeting in a man of the same race, being of his quality and sorte, who by blood is so nigh allyed to forreyne practizers, by difference of Religion devoted to the contrarie parte, by his owne private disposi^cōn hath always shewed himself dearly well affected and inclined to the Spaniard, being also generally favored of all his cuntry, and now in very plausible acceptaunce, the rather for the late gracious favours w^h he received of Her Ma^t'ie, and that by this attempt hath discovered his ambitious desyre to make himself great. It is greatlie to be regarded, to what ende the same may grow. Moreover, now latelie (whether for any further intent, or that it is through his heedlesse unhappinesse so fallen out), he hath by all meanes laboured to be interested in the Old Head of Kinsale, w^h is the Lo. Courcies auncient Manor House, and a place often heretofore eyed and earnestlie motioned, for opinion of great strength to be fortified; the title whereof he hath (as I understand) compassed, and was, the same day that he was apprehended, mynded to ryde thether to take possession of; all w^h concurring so daungerously to the encrease of doubt, I would therefore wish (under reforma^cōn of better advizement) that tho' hereafter he shall, phaps, work himselfe grace or pardon of the present dislyke, yett that very good assuraunces be taken of him before his enlargement, for avoyding of the evils which are depending uppon the circumstances of his person and condi^cōn. Him now I have according to Her High. pleasure comitted, as also, according to y^r later direccion in yo^r Lp's l^{tes} of the 4th of the last moneth, have caused the Countesse, Mac Finin, Teig Merrigagh, and such others as I could learne to have bene privy to the practise to be apprehended, as I could come by them; and doe not doubt but very shortly to come by the rest

likewise, of the w^h I understand that O'Sullivan More was the greatest forwarder and nearest of counsell, though indeed all the chief of that countrey were wrought by Florence to consent thereunto, who (as I am lett to understand), before the mariage, gott all their hands to firme that agreement, by a generall confirmaçon of them; and soone after accomplished the sayd mariage in an old broken church thereby, not in such solemnity and good sort as behoved, and as order of Law and Her Mat^e injunction doe require.

"Thus am I carried by large relaçon of particulares into a tedious length of lines, w^h I besech your Lp. to pardon in regard of the urgentnes of the matter, and many occasions meeting in the same. Further, I have thought good to advertize yo^r Lp. of the psent good quiett of this province, in w^h yt is not unlikely to continew, yf forreyne invasion doe not occasion the chaunge, &c., &c.

"THO^s NORREYS.

"From Limerick, 1 July, 1588."

"1588. *July 1. NOTES for HER MA'TIE to consider of.*

"The streingth of the L^{ts} of great countries and their alliance and followers.

"The Earle of Clankertie that now is, cometh of thelder brother of that House.

"The Lo. of Muskery cometh of the Second House of the Clan Karties. Sir Owen Mc Kertie is, as the countrie saith, a basterd of the House of Clan Kerties, and thereby enioyeth the country of Carbery. Mac Donoghe, Captein of the Countrie of Dowalla, enioyeth, that Contrie as the third Sonne descended of the Howse of the Earle of Clan Kartie.

"Dependers and Followers of the capteins of these Contries:—

"To the Earle of Clan Kertie.—O'Sullyvan Moore, O'Sullyvan Beare, Mac Fynian. These are also of the House of Clan Kertie.

"To the Lo. of Muskery.—Teig Mc Owen of Drishain.

"To the Lord of Carbery.—Sir Fynian O'Driscoe, Connoher Oh Driscoe, the Mahons, and their Septs.

"To the Lord of Dowalla.—The Calahone, the Chieffe [O'Keefes]. The Earle of Clan Kartie doth appoint the Lo. of this countrie.

"Out of the House of Clan Kartie's are now lyving these that folowe:—1st. The Earle of Clan Kertie that now is, who is without yssue male; he hath onely one daughter. After the Earle's decease his countrie is in Her Majestie to dispose. The Captein or Lo. of Muskery, who hath two sonnes; and a brother called Teig Mc Dermonde, and Charles, sonne of Sir Cormac Teig, last Lo. of Muskery.

"Donell Mc Kerthie, alias Donell Pye, who is the right legetimate heir of the contrey of Carbery, descended of thelder brother of the Lo. of Carbery. He hath two sonnes.

"Florence Mac Kartie, descended of Sir Donogh Mc Karthy, second Brother of the Lo. of Carbery, who is maryed to the only daughter of the Earle of Clan Kartie, He hath one brother lyvinge, called Cormac Mac Donoghe.¹

¹ An error. Florence's brother was Dermot Moyle.

"Sir Owen Mc Karty, the thirde brother of the Lo. of Carbery, is now Lo. of that contrie, and hath three sonnes.

"These that followe are allyed and have matched with the House of Clan Karty:—A Syster of the late Earle of Desmond, married to the Earle of Clan Kartie. A syster of James Fitz Morrice was married to Sir Donoghe M^c Karty, by whome he had yssue Florence, and his brother. Corm^c. Mc Dermode now Lo. of Muskery's Mother was another Syster of the saide James Fitz Morrice, the Traytor.

"The Lo. Roche married a thirde Syster of the said James, by whom he hath a sonne and a daughter; which daughter is married to Mc Donoghe, now Lord of Dowalla.

"The Seneschall is married to a daughter of the said James Fitz Morryce.

"To conclude, when these great Lords of Countries, viz., the Earle of Clancarty, the Lords of Muskerrie, Carbery, Dowalla, O'Sullyvan Moore, O'Sullyvan Beare, being all Carties, and the Lo. Roche and Seneschall allyed by James Fitz Morryce to that howse, yf the match and greatnes of Florence M^c Kartie be not pvented, that Secte will growe greater in Mounster then ever the Earle of Desmonde was, and no lesse daungerous. The streingth of this house being so great there is great care to be taken that they may be kepte in such sorte as not to combyne themselves in stronger manner together, then they are at this tyme, wherein especially care must be had that the mariage of Florence w^h the Earles daughter may be sepatet, and he cut off by the lawe, yf by his demerits he hath deserved it.

"Also, where as Sir Owen Mc Karty, now Lo. of Carbery, hath enlarged his possessions by getting the Lo. Coorsies Countrey and other lands, it were convenient that Donell Pype's tytle to that countrie of Carbery should be favoured, who hath the best tytle thereunto; so neither of them shalbe half so strong as nowe one of them is. Likewise, where the Lo. of Muskery hath now that whole Countrey to himself, and hath enlarged the same by other gruaunts from Her Ma'tie, it were convenient that the tytle of the sonne to Sir Cormac Teig should be favoured, w^h Sir Cormac yelded up that Countrey to Her Ma'tie, and tooke it of Her Heghnes to him and his heires; so, should the greatnes of one be abated, and be made equall, they will be opposite one to the other; and whereas there is Contençon for Doalla betwene two of the Mc Donoghues, it were likewise convenient, for the reasons aforesaid, that the countrey were devyded betwene them.

"The Seneschall, Patricke Condon, Patrick Fitz Morryce, the Whyte Knight, are all suspected to be very dangerous psons, and nearer to be seen unto then others, the most of them having ben principall actors in the last rebellion.

Such was the result of the inquiry which the Queen had ordered to be made into the matter of this marriage; it was more than enough to fill up the measure of her indignation against a nephew of the arch-traitor, James Fitz Morrice. The designs of Florence were now sufficiently unveiled; his conduct had been looked into by the keenest eyes in Munster, and the precautions fit to be taken against him suggested by the plainest-spoken man in the Queen's service.

If Florence, or the O'Sullivans, Patrick Condon, the Seneschal, Donell the Base, or Sir Owen and his sons, should be left at liberty to plot mischief henceforth, the fault could not be laid to the door of Sir Warham St. Leger. The pen of Sir Thomas Norreys had done its work as industriously as that of his colleague; it had even written passages more perilous for Florence; for it had shown that the ambitious designs which St. Leger had foreshadowed had already commenced their operation: he had acquired the Spanish language, secured a harbour suitable for the landing of Spanish forces, and, worst of all, he was in connexion with a notorious foreigner, then in a London prison, for designs against the Queen's life; yet that prophetic pen had pointed to a possibility, the belief in which, probably, no man, except Florence himself, entertained, that he might "hereafter work himself grace or pardon of the present dislike."

(To be continued.)

ON ANCIENT MASON-MARKS AT YOUGHAL AND ELSEWHERE; AND THE SECRET LANGUAGE OF THE CRAFTSMEN OF THE MIDDLE AGES IN IRELAND.

BY E. FITZGERALD, ARCHITECT, YOUGHAL.

(Concluded from page 72.)

SEVERAL circumstances, not necessary to enter on here, combined to postpone the forwarding of the following Paper up to the present. However, an advantage gained by delay is, that some progress can be reported on the formation of a second collection of Irish mason-marks, which, it is to be hoped, ere long may form a second plate, and be published by the Society, as several Members have taken a lively interest in the subject.

The Rev. James Graves has discovered some very interesting specimens in the Cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny, and Dunbrody Abbey, on works of about A.D. 1250; the same marks occur in both buildings to a certain extent, and two from St. Canice are identical with two marks from the Cathedral of Presburg, published on the Plate to my former Paper, being the two last but one on the Plate. Mr. W. Gillespie, Architect, Cork, mentions the discovery of some on the ancient parish church of Drumeliff, county of Cork: they consisted chiefly of the favourite emblem in masonry, the square, and were often repeated through the building. In a note from Archdeacon Rowan, he says—"You will find some worthy your attention in Holy Cross Abbey, where I saw them a few years ago, in a hasty visit made be-